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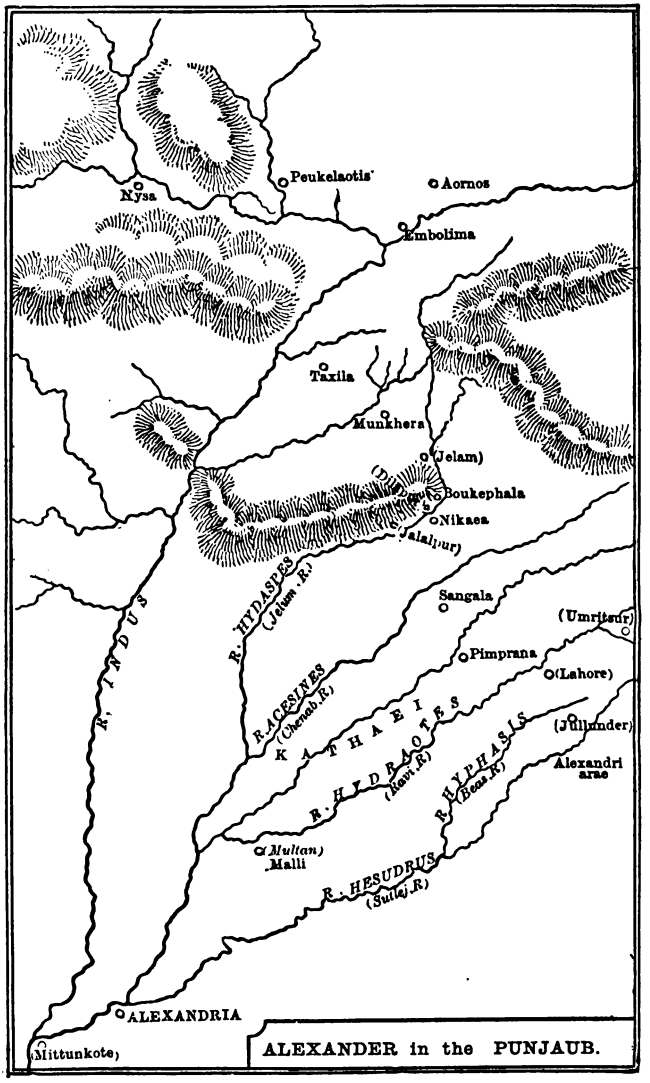

ALEXANDER in the PUNJAUB.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

IN THE

PUNJAUB

FROM ARRIAN, BOOK V.

With Notes

BY THE

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INTRODUCTION.

ALEXANDER IN THE PUNJAUB.

LEAVING Balkh (the ancient Bactra) and the Oxus region by the Bamian, or some other of the formidable passes from Central Asia to India—thence descending on Ortospana (the modern Cabul), and sending part of his army through the defiles of the Khoord Cabul Jugdulluk and Khyber, while he himself followed a line of march through the still wilder country to the north of these defiles, Alexander passed to the banks of the Indus, not far from the present city of Peshawr.

When we remember the terrible overthrow and utter destruction of our army on the retreat from Cabul in 1842, and are informed that even now, in spite of the large garrison maintained by us in Peshawr, there is not the least sense of security in the neighbourhood, and that any man who risks himself without a strong escort ten miles from cantonments up the Khyber is infallibly murdered, we cannot sufficiently admire that military ability of Alexander which enabled him to pass these grim defiles, without incurring any danger sufficiently great to be dwelt upon by the historian. With a Greek's indifference to changes of climate, he thus emerged from the hill country of Afghanistan, so refreshingly cool in summer, so fearfully bleak and snow-covered in winter, and found himself in the burning

plains of India, without feeling, as it appears, any of the discomfort from heat which made Sultan Baber, in his memoirs, regret so poetically the coolness and the fruits of his native mountains. He passed the Indus, apparently just before the rains began; and then saw extended before him the vast plains of the Punjaub, now known to us as England's latest conquest in the north-west of India, and also as the country where, above all others, her maxims of enlightened rule have been carried freely into effect, and with the happiest and most genial results.

The name Punjaub means the land of the five rivers (Panj-ab, "five Avons.") In fact, its whole character and features are formed by the possession of these noble streams. They flow down from the Himalayan snows, bringing with them life and fertility. Their very names are suggestive of energy. Leaving the Indus at the north, we have first the Hydaspes or Jhelum. The ancient name Hydaspes is said to be a corruption of the Sanscrit Vi-tasta, "never standing." Then comes the Acesines or Chenab; "Asikni" apparently meaning "the black river," an epithet suggested by its depth and volume. This is succeeded by the Hydraotes or Ravi. The latter, which is the modern name, means "the sounding one;" Hydraotes or Irawati being simply "the water." Last come the Hyphasis Bibasa or Beas, in which we can recognize the Sanscrit Vipasa, "uncontrollable," and the Sutlej or Satadru, "the stream of the hundred currents."

The sections of the country between these are called, as usual in India, the "doabs," that is, the lands of the two rivers. The names of these in the Punjaub are formed by a sort of crasis of the names of the pairs of rivers which bound them. Thus, the southernmost country between the Beas and Ravi is called the Bari Doab; that between the Ravi and Chenab, the Rechna; that between the Chenab and Jelum, the Chuj; but the vast expanse between the Jelum and the Indus is

known by the name of the Sind Saugor ("the ocean of the Indus"), as much of it is overflowed by the annual rising of that river. The aspect of the country is entirely different according as the land is or is not within the reach of one of these rivers, and the system of irrigation depending on it; so that the civilian appointed to a Punjaub station *may* find himself, on reaching his post, near the breezy hills of Murree, the sweet mountain lake of Nynee Tal, or the valley of Kangra, rich with grain in the spring, and rice in the summer, with the mulberry, the tea-plant, and the vine. But if his lot be cast on the higher part of one of the "doabs," he may be a resident in some sandy or rocky wilderness, where the scenery, such as it is, is invisible from driving dust; or amid the heat and evil smells of Multan or Lahore, of which latter city an Indian proverb says:—

> "Dust, beggars, dog-days, dead men's bones; these four
> Blessings are, one and all, the greeting of Lahore."

The people of the Punjaub have always been warlike by necessity; for their country lies on the great highway of the conquerors of India. Like Northern Italy, it has been perpetually watered with blood; and their bold struggle against Alexander is only a type of many conflicts subsequently waged by them in defence of their liberty. At Multan and Lahore arose, in after times, the stoutest resistance to Mahmud of Ghuznee, in A.D. 1000; to Jenghis Khan and the barbarous Mogul invasion, in 1217; and to Tamerlane, the Tartar conqueror, in 1400; and it was only when this resistance was trampled down that any of these sovereigns could proceed to conquest in India proper. More recently, in the seventeenth century, the Punjaub became the seat of the most strict, determined, and fanatical religion of India, that of the Seikhs, or "disciples" of Nanuk, whose precepts, founded partly on Hinduism, partly on Mohammedanism, appear to have had a simple and strenuous

moral power, combined with a most vigorous spirit of brotherhood. From this religion, therefore, sprang the fierceness of spirit which made them the most formidable of our enemies—the men who more than once brought our Indian empire to the verge of ruin. It also made them afterwards the most effective of our allies, when the Indian mutiny gave them a chance of avenging under our standards the defeats which they had suffered, in 1846 and 1849, from those very sepoys who had now rebelled against us; and when our empire was saved by an appeal on our part to those religious enmities, which it is the acknowledged duty, in ordinary times, of a virtuous government to repress and tranquillize by all the means in its power.

Invasions of the Punjaub from the north-west will naturally follow the line of the great roads. If, therefore, they aim, as Alexander's attack did, at the conquest of the great centres of Punjaub population—the Rechna and Bari doabs, with the towns belonging to them—they will, on emerging from the Afghan defiles, cross the Indus, as Alexander did, opposite Attok (the "forbidden," by going north of which the Hindoo loses his caste). Marching south, the invader would arrive at Takshacila ("the hewn rock"—Τάξιλα), a city of extraordinary wealth, inasmuch as its property, fifty years after Alexander's time, was estimated at not less than £9,000,000. Here the two great roads diverge; the western one, followed by Alexander, crossed the Jelum below Jellapur, the Chenab below Ramnuggur, the Ravi below Lahore, and the Sutlej just below its present junction with the Beas; it ultimately went on to the Upper Jumna. The eastern road, which he did not follow, passed by Jelum, Vezerabad, and Umritsur, and must at all times have gone through a country more wealthy and prosperous than the other.

Alexander was necessarily drawn to the former rather than the latter of these roads, in spite of its comparative disadvantages, by the position on the Jelum taken up by Porus opposite

Jelalpoor, which he was obliged to assault. That he did not, after winning this battle, at once pass over to the other road, we may, perhaps, attribute to deficient information.

The battle with Porus has been described by Sir W. Napier, in the "London and Westminster Review," 1838; and, more recently, by General Cunningham, in his admirable work on the "Geography of Northern India." Napier directs attention, among other points, to the far greater skill displayed by Alexander in the passage of the Jelum, as compared with his earlier forcing of the Granicus. The second writer, General Cunningham, has himself gone over the ground most fully, besides possessing all the learning necessary to make such researches useful: his account of the locality, which he thinks demonstrably correct, has, therefore, been embodied in the notes below. He, like Sir W. Napier, expresses great admiration for the masterly handling of troops by Alexander, to meet a kind of warfare and a mode of formation of which he had had no experience. Indeed, it is impossible to observe, without the keenest admiration, the wonderful versatility which the Macedonian king displayed under the most varied circumstances. The most formidable sieges, the most unusual combinations of hostile troops, the most threatening guerilla warfare by mountaineers, are dealt with by him, each as it arises, with the most consummate ease and felicity. He had also a singular power of impressing his own views on his lieutenants. Hephæstion or Ptolemy, if detached to repress a revolting tribe in the rear, to construct a bridge in advance of the army, or to found a city for the purpose of securing the country behind it, is sure to do the work as decidedly and completely as if Alexander himself were present. This fact becomes still more striking when we remember how constantly Napoleon failed, from discord and even incompetence among his marshals, in accomplishing those enterprises which he could not personally superintend.

Some of the incidents of our own campaigns, on the same ground as that on which Alexander fought, will serve to illustrate, by way of contrast, the superiority of his skill. The second Seikh war, in 1848-49, was caused very mainly by the determination of Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, to ignore the signs of revolt at Multan, and many other places. After months of delay and discomfiture, Multan was at last on the point of being reduced by General Whish ; and, urged on by the admonition of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, Lord Gough resolved to move against the rebel army in the Eastern Punjaub. After marching several days from the Chenab, he came in sight of the enemy near Chillianwallah, that is, on the identical ground where Alexander overthrew Porus. He had given orders that ground should be taken for an encampment, and the men were already engaged in this operation, when a few unlucky shots from the Seikh horse-artillery fell within the line of flags. This appears to have stirred the old warrior's too fiery spirit ; and, instead of moving for the night to a less exposed position, he gave orders for an immediate and headlong attack. Regiment after regiment made its way to the front through the jungle ; the 24th stormed a Seikh battery and took possession of its six guns, but only to find itself under a flanking fire, which, in ten minutes, slew 200 of its men. Each apparently successful advance was checked in the same way, and our best officers were falling in all directions. Then came the crowning disaster. The 14th Dragoons had been ordered, strange to say, to advance by a narrow path through the jungle, where hardly two troopers could ride abreast ; behind them were several batteries of horse-artillery, and at a short distance in the rear the surgeons had fixed their ambulances. Suddenly, "either by an order, or by the men's apprehension of an order," the cavalry began to fall back. Soon the retreat became a flight, and before long the horsemen were galloping headlong backwards, scattering the

tumbrels of the artillery in the wildest disorder, and even, it is reported, overthrowing the tables at which the surgeons were operating on the wounded. True, that the moment the way was clear, the artillery were able by a few rounds to check all pursuit—but night came on without the battle having been retrieved, the Seikhs remaining in possession of several of our guns, and of the colours of not less than four of our regiments. Officers present have graphically described the astonishment with which they became gradually aware, as gun after gun sounded singly through the darkness at regular intervals from the Seikh camp, that our enemies were firing a salute in honour of their victory of Chillianwallah. Nor was this all; in the days following the battle they completely out-generalled the Commander-in-Chief, marching coolly past his camp, and taking position between him and Vezerabad, so as to have this city and Lahore at their mercy; a catastrophe which was averted, as Mr. Edwin Arnold tells us, only by a rise of the rivers, and a forced march of General Whish from Multan with reinforcements, which enabled Lord Gough to end the war, by the decisive battle of Gujerat, in a way which made England able and willing to pass over former errors, retaining the memory of them only as an instruction and warning to the military men of the future.

Alexander managed *his* "battle of Chillianwallah" in a way which it will be profitable to compare with the details just given. First, he waited on the north bank of the Jelum with the utmost patience until, by a series of skilful manœuvres, he had thrown Porus quite off his guard. He then, with equal skill, sent the greater part of his army across the deep and dangerous river which lay before him by the hazardous expedient of a night movement, which prospered at all points under his personal guidance. He then marched straight upon the enemy, who had formed to meet him on ground chosen by themselves. Not

allowing himself to be betrayed into any movement of impatience, he held his cavalry well in hand till the infantry had not only come up, but also recovered breath and steadiness after their hurried march. Then, avoiding the front of Porus's infantry line—which was strengthened by a number of elephants standing bastion-like at distances of 100 feet from each other—he charged with his own superior cavalry the Indian horse which had gathered to meet him on Porus's left flank, having previously arranged that the moment these cavalry advanced beyond their supports to repel him, they should be attacked also in the rear by a division of his own horse, reserved for this special purpose. To meet the double assault, they resorted to one of those changes of front, in which Indian cavalry are often so surprisingly rapid—facing partly to the front and partly to the rear. Yet Alexander was beforehand with them; and his renewed charge threw them into utter confusion before they could fully assume their new formation. Flying along the front of their own infantry, they took refuge in the spaces left between every two elephants, and (as it would seem, in the absence from Arrian's account of the full details) passed as soon as possible through the intervals of the foot regiments, so as to be for the moment quite outside the battle. As soon as they were out of the way, the Indian elephants were sent on, supported by the infantry; but were at once met face to face by the Macedonian phalanx. In spite of the terrible loss inflicted by the elephants, the mass of men pressed onwards, slew with their javelins most of the mahouts and of the warriors in the howdahs, and goaded the animals themselves into madness, with a destructive effect which we may easily conceive, when we imagine the terribly close press of infantry all around, and the way in which the frenzied creatures would act when driven back upon the ranks of their friends. But the pressure soon became fiercer still, for the Indian cavalry recovering heart for a moment, rode round the battle and once

more charged the Macedonian horse; only, however, to be again repelled and again driven towards the place where the infantry fight was going on. In their mad attempt to regain the shelter of what had been the line of elephants, they hopelessly clubbed the whole mass of their comrades; and Alexander, who all the time had his cavalry perfectly in hand, and free to move at his pleasure, had no difficulty in converting the confusion into a headlong and universal rout by forming with it a cordon round all the combatants, and then directing charges upon the bleeding mass from every point of the compass in succession.

Thus in this whole military operation not a single failure occurred; and if we could forget the utter and reckless cruelty and injustice of the whole war conducted in the Punjaub by Alexander, no feeling would remain to conflict with the admiration with which we regard such a manner of playing the game of battle. Other points of contrast between Alexander's operations in the Punjaub and those of our own time will be noticed here and there in the notes illustrating these extracts. It only remains to say, that the remarks here made on the geography and history of the Punjaub have been taken mainly from General Cunningham's work above mentioned, from Mr. Edwin Arnold's "History of Lord Dalhousie's Administration," and from Elphinstone's "History of India." A few details are also extracted from Sir Thomas Seaton's agreeable work, entitled "From Cadet to Colonel," and from Mr. William Arnold's novel of "Oakfield," in which a thin veil of fiction is merely the garb in which it pleased the lamented author to clothe an admirable and truly historic narrative. Some reference has also been made to the articles contributed by the last writer to "Fraser's Magazine."

It should be stated that, as the Greek of Arrian is not precisely that of the best writers, it has been thought better, for the purposes of this little work, to alter the places in which unclassical

or clumsy expressions occur—substituting in each case the preferable synonyms. Thus it has been possible to dispense with a large number of the notes generally found necessary to explain such passages.

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Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, καταλαμβάνει γέφυράν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ὑπὸ Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ μὲν σμικρότερα, δύο δὲ τριακοντόρους, καὶ παρὰ Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δῶρα

ἥκοντα ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἱερεῖα δὲ βοῦς μὲν τρισχιλίας, πρόβατα δὲ ὑπὲρ μύρια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα· καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἧκον· καὶ πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, αὐτῷ Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. ἐνταῦθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ· καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

Ὁ δ' Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποταμῶν ἐστὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Γάγγου, καὶ τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἱ πηγαί εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Ἰνδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον, καὶ ὅτι δίστομός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἱ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἱ πέντε τοῦ Ἴστρου, καὶ ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ Δέλτα παραπλήσιον καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο Πάταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ, ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, τὰ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀμφίλογα, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράφθω· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης καὶ Ἀκεσίνης καὶ Ὑδραώτης καὶ Ὕφασις, καὶ οὗτοι Ἰνδοὶ ποταμοὶ ὄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν πολύ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσι· τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δὲ πολὺ μείονες εἰσὶ ὅσον καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας δὲ λέγει, εἰ δή τῳ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας ἐς τεκμηρίωσιν, ὅπου μὲν στενώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἴνδος ἐστί, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ὅτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ

ὄχθαι· ὅπου δὲ πλατύτατος καὶ ἑκατόν· τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτοιν.

Τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διέβαινε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν. περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ δηλώσω ὅσα πιστότατα ἐς ἀφήγησιν οἵ τε ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁ ἐκπεριπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τὸ κᾶτ' Ἰνδοὺς Νέαρχος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅσα Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ξυνεγραψάτην, καὶ νόμιμα ἄττα Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ εἰ δή τινα ζῷα ἄτοπα αὐτόθι φύεται καὶ τὸν παράπλουν αὐτὸν τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίνετο, τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθω· τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος φασὶν ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ καταντικρὺ Σάμου τῆς νήσου ὄρους, ἀποτεμνόμενον δὲ τήν τε Παμφυλίων καὶ Κιλίκων γῆν ἔνθεν μὲν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν παρήκειν, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Χωρασμίους· κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ξυμβάλλειν λέγουσι τῷ Παραπαμίσῳ ὄρει, ὃ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν λέγεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὔξοντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου κρατῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ξυνεχὲς ἂν εἴη τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ, καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος· καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπὶ τῷδε λέλεκται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κληθήσεται. τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τοῦτόν φασι καθήκειν ἔστε

ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἕω τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς θάλασσαν. τοὺς δὲ ποταμούς, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου ἄξιοι, ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ
80 τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐκδιδόναι τὴν Μαιῶτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης· τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὸν Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ
85 Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑδραώτην καὶ Ὕφασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἢ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσιν ἢ εἰς τενάγη ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐζεύχθη ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς οὐκ
90 ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ξυστρατεύσαντες αὐτῷ εἶπον. ὡς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ θύει κατὰ νόμον Ἀλέξανδρος. ἄρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου.
95 καὶ ἐδέχετο αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὕπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῇδε Ἰνδοὶ φιλίως· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσης ἐδέοντο. ἧκον δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀβι-
100 σάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρεως νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλοις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. καὶ ἀπο-

δείξας σατράπην τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τὸν Μαχάτα φρουράν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

Ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ, ἐγνωκὼς εἴργειν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἢ περῶντι ἐπιτίθεσθαι· ταῦτα ὡς ἔγνω Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ξυντεμόντα κελεύει φέρειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν. καὶ ξυνετμήθη τε τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διχῇ διατμηθέντα, αἱ τριακόντοροι δὲ τριχῇ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ τὰ τμήματα ἐπὶ ζευγῶν διεκομίσθη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου· κἀκεῖ ξυμπηχθὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν αὖθις δὴ ἐνεργὸν ἦν ἔν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἥν τε δύναμιν ἔχων ἧκεν ἐς Τάξιλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὓς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὕπαρχοι ἦγον ᾖει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, καὶ Πῶρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ὄχθην ὤφθη ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ ᾗ κατεστρατοπεδευκότα εἶδεν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς μένων ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐπορώτερα ἦν ἐπὶ ταῦτα φρουρὰς διαπέμψας καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστοις εἴργειν ἐπενόει τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντι

Ἀλέξανδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἡ στρατιὰ πολλαχῇ, ὥστε τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίγνεσθαι. διελὼν δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τὸν στρατὸν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλῃ καὶ
135 ἄλλῃ ἦγε τῆς χώρας, τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμια, τὰ δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπῃ εὐπορώτερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανεῖται, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτάξας καὶ αὐτοὺς πολλαχῇ διέπεμπε. σῖτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου χώρας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
140 ξυνεκομίζετο, ὥστε δῆλον εἶναι τῷ Πώρῳ ὅτι ἐγνωκὼς εἴη προσλιπαρεῖν τῇ ὄχθῃ, ἔστ' ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεῖον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμῶνος πολλαχῇ παραδῷ οἱ τὸν πόρον· τά τε πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ παραπλέοντα καὶ αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ
145 ἡ ὄχθη πᾶσα πλήρης φαινομένη τῇ μὲν ἱππέων, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἴα ἡρεμεῖν τὸν Πῶρον, οὐδὲ ἕνα τινὰ τόπον ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν, ἐς τοῦτον παντὶ τρόπῳ παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἄλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλῷ τε ὕδατι καὶ θολερῷ
150 καὶ ὀξεῖ τῷ ῥεύματι ἔρρεον· ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ᾗ κατὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος· ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὕδατά τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔνθενπερ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαί εἰσι, κατα-
155 τηκόμεναι αὔξουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα· χειμῶνος δὲ ἔμπαλιν ὀλίγοι τε γίγνονται καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν· ἀλλ' ὅ γ' Ὑδάσπης περατὸς γίνεται.

Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν· ἐς τὸ

φανερὸν ἔφασκεν, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εἴργοιτο· ἄλλ' οὐδὲν 160
μεῖον ἐφεδρεύων ἔμενεν, εἴ πῃ λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὀξέως
τὸν πόρον. ᾗ μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πῶρος κατεστρατοπε-
δεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἔγνω ἀδύνατος ὢν
περᾶσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλὴ
στρατιὰ καὶ αὕτη τεταγμένη τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὡπλισ- 165
μένη ἐκβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν· οἵ τε
ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς
ὄχθης τῆς ἀντιπέραν, προσκειμένων σφίσιν εὐθὺς τῶν
ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῇ τε ὄψει ἅμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβούντων,
οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν τούτου μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν 170
κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορῶντες
πέραν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ ἔκφρονες γιγνόμενοι.
κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων. νύκτωρ
παραγαγὼν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς πολλοὺς
τῶν ἱππέων βοήν τε ἐποίει καὶ ἠλαλάζετο τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, 175
καὶ τἄλλα ἔπραττε ὅσα ἐπὶ διαβάσει συσκευαζομένοις
γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ. καὶ ὁ Πῶρός τε ἀεὶ ἀντιπαρῄει πρὸς
τὴν βοὴν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς
ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ
πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο καὶ βοὴ μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν, 180
οὐκέτι ὁ Πῶρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν
ἱππέων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἔμενε·
σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὄχθης καθειστήκεσαν.
Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ ἄφοβον τὸ τοῦ
Πώρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανᾶταί τι 185
τοιόνδε.

Ἄκρα ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ἵνα ἐπέ-

καμπτεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως, αὐτή τε δασεῖα δένδρεσι παντοίοις καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ
190 ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβὴς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. ταύτην καταμαθὼν τὴν νῆσον καταντικρὺ τῆς ἄκρας, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὑλώδη τὰ χωρία καὶ οἷα κρύψαι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ταύτῃ ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν τὸν στρατόν. ἀπεῖχε δὲ ἥ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου στρατο-
195 πέδου ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. παρὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ὄχθην φυλακαί τε αὐτῷ καθεστηκυῖαι ἦσαν, διαλείπουσαι ὅσον ξύμμετρον ἐς τὸ ξυνορᾶν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακούειν εὐπετῶς ὁπόθεν τι παραγγέλλοιτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν βοαί τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς
200 νύκτας ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πυρὰ ἐκαίετο.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον φανερῶς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ Κράτερος ἐκεῖ ὑπελέλειπτο τήν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ
205 Παραπαμισαδῶν ἱππέας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τήν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τὴν Πολυσπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατέρῳ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἢ χωρῆσαι
210 Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἢ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς σφετέρους δὲ νικῶντας. ἦν δὲ, ἔφη, μέρος μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν Πῶρος ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἄγῃ, μέρος δέ τι ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δή καὶ ὡς μένειν κατὰ χώραν· ἐὰν δὲ
215 τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγῃ Πῶρος ἐπ'

ἐμέ, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπολείπηταί τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνειν σπουδῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες μόνοι, ἔφη, ἄποροί εἰσιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἵππους· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ εὔπορος.

Ταῦτα μὲν Κρατέρῳ ἐνετέλλετο. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κράτερος ὑπολέλειπτο, Μελέαγρός τε καὶ Ἄτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ πεζοῖς ἐτετάχατο· καὶ τούτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος διελόντας τὸν στρατόν, ὁπότε ξυνεχομένους ἤδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἴδοιεν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἑταίρων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τὴν Ἡφαιστίωνος ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἱππέας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τε καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, ἦγεν ἀφανῶς, πολύ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὄχθης, τοῦ μὴ καταφανὴς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἔνθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἦν ἐγνωσμένον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρεσκευασμέναι, καὶ κατερράπτοντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν· ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβρον ἐπιγίνεται. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἡ παρασκευή τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἡ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερὰ κατέστη, τῷ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄμβρου ἀντιπαταγούντων. καὶ τῶν πλοίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ

ξυντετμημένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ
245 ἀφανῶς αὖθις ξυμπεπηγμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τά
τε ἄλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ὅ τε ἄνε-
μος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος ἔληγε. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ
ἡ ἱππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν
τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ὡς μὴ πρόσ-
250 θεν ὀφθεῖεν τοῖς Πώρου σκοποῖς πρὶν παραλλάξαντας
τὴν νῆσον ὀλίγον ἔτι ἀπέχειν τῆς ὄχθης.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ
Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Λυσίμαχος οἱ σωμα-
τοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἑταίρων, ὁ βασιλεύσας
255 ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεες· τοὺς δὲ
ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς ἄλλαι τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. ὡς
δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρήλλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, φανερῶς ἤδη
ἐπεῖχον τῇ ὄχθῃ· καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν
ὁρμὴν ὡς ἑκάστοις τάχους οἱ ἵπποι εἶχον ἤλαυνον ὡς
260 ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος
αὐτὸς ἐκβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τριακοντόρων
ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέταττε τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἱππέων·
οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι ἐτετάχατο αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν· καὶ
τούτους ἄγων προῄει ἐν τάξει. ἔλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς
265 βέβαιον χωρίον ἐκβὰς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς
νῆσον καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον νῆσος
οὖσα ἔλαθεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕδατι ἀποτεμνομένην ἀπὸ
τῆς ἄλλης γῆς. καὶ ἅμα ηὐξήκει τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὄμβρος
λάβρος τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχών, ὥστε
270 οὐκ ἐξεύρισκον αὐτῷ οἱ ἱππεῖς τὸν πόρον, καὶ δέος ἦν
αὖθις μὴ ἄλλου δέοι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἴσου τῷ

πρώτῳ πόνου. ὡς δὲ ἐξευρέθη οἱ ὁ πόρος, ἦγε κατ' αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς· ἦν γὰρ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 275 ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεπέρατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παρήγαγε τὸ τε ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππαρχιῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλι- 280 κούς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἄγημα τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπασπιστάς, ὡς ἑκάστοις αἱ ἡγεμονίαι ἐν τῷ τότε ξυνέβαινον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ 285 ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν.

Οὕτως ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ βάδην ἕπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων· αὐτὸς δέ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἵππῳ, τοὺς ἱππέας μόνους ἀναλαβὼν σπουδῇ ἡγεῖτο, ὄντας ἐς 290 πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρωνι δὲ τῷ τοξάρχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ. ἐνόμισε γάρ, εἰ μὲν προσμίξειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἁπάσῃ, ἢ κρατήσειν αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαι γε 295 ἔστε οἱ πεζοὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγένοιντο· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἄτοπον γενομένην οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιεν, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἕξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὥστε πλείονος ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει

300 τοῦ φόνου γενομένου ὀλίγον ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον.

Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει τὸν Πώρου παῖδα φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον ξὺν ἅρμασιν ὡς ἑξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς μακρᾶς περάσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ
305 τοῦτον δυνηθῆναι ἂν εἶρξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς διαβάσεως, χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἴργοντος περαιωθέντα, εἰ καταπηδήσαντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἐκβαινόντων· ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι ξὺν τοῖς ἅρμασι καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιῆσαι
310 Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, καὶ τραπῆναι αὐτοὺς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγὰς λαμβάνοντας. οἱ δὲ καὶ μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Πώρου ἀφιγμένων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τε
315 καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἱππέας. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν μείζονι δυνάμει τὸν Πώρου παῖδα καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον Αλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τῶν ἵππων, καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς
320 τοῦ Πώρου. ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἄλλως λέγει. ἐκπεμφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου λέγει καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑξήκοντα μόνα ἅρματα ἄγοντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς Πῶρον ἀκούσαντα ἐκ τῶν σκοπῶν ὅτι δὴ ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος
325 διαβέβηκε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς, σὺν ἑξήκοντα ἅρμασι μόνοις ἐκπέμψαι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα· ἃ δὴ ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμπό-

μενα πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ εὔζωνα ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν· ὡς δέ εἰς τό εἶρξαί τε τοὺς οὔπω πεπερακότας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι, οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόμαχα. ἀλλὰ δισχιλίους λέγει ἱππέας ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα, ἅρματα δὲ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι· φθάσαι δὲ περάσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὸν τελευταῖον πόρον.

Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὗτος λέγει τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, αὐτὸν δ' ἄγειν τοὺς ἱππέας· προσάγειν γὰρ οἰηθῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει, τὴν δὲ ἵππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, ὡς δὲ κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκῶς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὀξέως ἐπιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ. τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλῖναι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον τε αὐτὸν κατεῖδον καὶ τὸ στῖφος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππέων, οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἴλας ἐμβεβληκός. καὶ τούτων ἱππέας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα· τὰ δὲ ἅρματα αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἁλῶναι ἔν τε τῇ ἀποχωρήσει βαρέα γιγνόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεῖα.

Πῶρος δὲ ὡς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώζοντο Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτὸν πεπερακότα ξὺν τῆς στρατιᾶς τῷ καρτερωτάτῳ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἤγγειλαν, ἐγίγνετο μὲν ἐκ τούτων ἀμφίβολος τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρὺ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ξὺν Κρατέρῳ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐπιχειροῦντες τῇ διαβάσει ἐφαίνοντο· εἵλετο

δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλάσας ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν ἐλεφάντων σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλιπεν, ὥστε φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ξὺν Κρατέρῳ ἱππέας. αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε ἵππον ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ τὰ ἅρματα πάντα, τριακόσια ὄντα, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχε χωρίῳ ἵνα οὐ πηλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ψάμμου ξύμπαν ἦν ἄπεδον καὶ στερεὸν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῶν ἵππων, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μεῖον πλέθρου, ὥστε πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν παραταθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον πάντη παρέχειν τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεῦσιν. ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἠξίου ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων τολμῆσαι ἄν τινα ὥσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, οὔτε ξὺν ἵπποις διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἵππων, πεζούς τε ἔτι μεῖον· κατὰ στόμα τε γὰρ ἄν ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εἴργεσθαι καὶ καταπατηθήσεσθαι ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὥστε ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλῆσθαι τοὺς λόχους. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες

ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἡ ἵππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἅρματα ἑκατέρωθεν. 385

Αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πώρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤδη καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκτασσομένους, ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἱππέας ὥστε ἀναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀεὶ προσάγοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳ ἐπῆλθε, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγεν, μὴ καματηρούς τε καὶ 390 πνευστιῶντας ἀκμῆσι παραδοίη τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων ἀνέπαυε τοὺς πεζούς. ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατεῖδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μέν, ἵνα οἱ ἐλέφαντες προεβέβληντο καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέτακτο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγειν, 395 αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀκνήσας ἅπερ ὁ Πῶρος προνοούμενος ταύτῃ ἔταξεν· ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μέν, ἅτε ἱππποκρατῶν, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολεμίων παρήλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιθησόμενος. Κοῖνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ 400 τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα ἱππαρχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στῖφος τῶν ἱππέων ἰδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριππεύωσιν, αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν· τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Ταύρωνι προσέταξεν ἄγειν· μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἅπτεσθαι 405 τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταραγμένην τήν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας κατίδωσιν.

Ἤδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, ὄντας 410 ἐς χιλίους, ὥστε ταράξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἐφεστηκότας τῶν

πολεμίων τῇ πυκνότητί τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἐπελάσει. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας παρήλαυνεν ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν
415 βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἔτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος, πρὶν ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἵ τε Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντοθεν ξυναλίσαντες Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅμοσε ἐχώρουν, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρήγγελτο, κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνοντο.
420 ταῦτα ξυνιδόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀμφίστομον ἠναγκάσθησαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλήν τε καὶ κρατίστην· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ ἐπέστρεφον. τοῦτό τε οὖν εὐθὺς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ
425 Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαντο τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππέων οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ κατηράχθησαν ὥσπερ εἰς τεῖχός τι φίλιον τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται
430 τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπῆγον τῇ ἵππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπῄει πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδὸν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἐοικός· τά τε
435 γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν, ὅπῃ ἐπιστρέψειεν, ἐκεράϊζε καίπερ πυκνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα· καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοῖς πεζοῖς ἰδόντες ξυνεστηκὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιστρέψαντες αὖθις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπήλαυνον τῇ ἵππῳ. ὡς δὲ πάλιν

ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον, τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὖθις κατειλήθησαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἡ ἵππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἴλην ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι αὐτῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τάξιν καταστᾶσα, ὅποι προσπέσοι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ταῖς τάξεσι ξὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ ἐς στενὸν ἤδη κατειλημένων τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐβλάπτοντο, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὠθισμοῖς καταπατούμενοι. τῶν τε οὖν ἱππέων, οἷα δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, πολὺς φόνος ἐγίγνετο καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπό τε τῶν πόνων καὶ ἐρημίᾳ ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἦσαν· ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φιλίοις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, ἅτε ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς θηρίοις, ὅπῃ μὲν ἐπιφέροιντο εἶκον, ἀποστραφέντων δὲ εἴχοντο ἐσακοντίζοντες· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ἅτε ἐν στενῷ ὄντες τὰ πλείω ἤδη ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. ὡς δὲ καματηρά τε ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρωμέναι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ συριγμῷ μόνον διαχρώμενα ὥσπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι νῆες ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ἵππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ ξυνασπίσαντας ὡς ἐς

πυκνοτάτην ξύγκλεισιν ἐπάγειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἐσήμηνε. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων κατε-
470 κόπησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ· ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ παντα-χόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὅπου διέσχεν ἡ ἵππος ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κράτερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς
475 στρατιᾶς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὑπολελειμμένοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὡς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατεῖδον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπέρων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἀμφ'
480 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει.

Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέον-τες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἅρματα ξύμπαντα κατεκόπη· καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν
485 καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἁρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἱππάρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Πώρου ξύμπαντες.*** ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. τῶν δ' ἀμφ' Ἀλέξαν-δρον πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
490 προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον. ἱππεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱπποτοξοτῶν, οἳ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἥψαντο, δέκα· τῆς δὲ ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὡς διακόσιοι.

Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα ἔργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδειξάμενος
495 οὐχ ὅτι στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτου γενναίου, ὡς

τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸν φόνον κατεῖδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἑαυτῷ σφαλεροὺς ὄντας, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ ᾗπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπεχώ- 500 ρει, ἀλλὰ ἔστε ὑπέμενέ τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ξυνεστηκός, ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγωνισάμενος, τετρωμένος δὲ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον, ὃν δὴ γυμνὸν μόνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεστρέφετο (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἀπέρυκεν αὐτῷ τὰ βέλη ὁ θώραξ, περιττὸς ὢν κατά τε τὴν ἰσχὺν 505 καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ὕστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ἦν), τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρει ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἐλέφαντα. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σῶσαι ἐπεθύμησε. πέμπει οὖν παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν Ἰνδόν· καὶ Ταξίλης 510 προσιππεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὃς ἔφερε τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιστῆσαί τε ἠξίου τὸ θηρίον, οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἔτι φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγων. ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ἐχθρὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἐπήγετο ὡς 515 ἀκοντίσων· καὶ κατέκτεινε ἂν δή, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πώρου πρόσω τὸν ἵππον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Πώρῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλους τε ἐν μέρει ἔπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ Μερόην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτι φίλον εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ 520 Πώρῳ τὸν Μερόην ἔμαθε. Πῶρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόου ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δίψους ἅμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπέστησέ τε τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς

δὲ ἔπιέ τε καὶ ἀνέψυξεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα
525 ἐκέλευσε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤγετο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προϊππεύσας πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ξὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πώρῳ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἵππον τό τε μέγεθος ἐθαύμαζεν, ὑπὲρ πέντε πήχεις ὄν, καὶ
530 τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πώρου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεδουλωμένος τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ προσέλθοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἄλλον καλῶς ἠγωνισμένος. ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσειπὼν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ
535 τι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐθέλοι. Πῶρον δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος, βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ἔσται σοι, ὦ Πῶρε, ἔφη, ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα· σὺ δὲ σαυτοῦ ἕνεκα ὅ τι σοὶ φίλον ἀξίου. ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔφη ἐν τούτῳ ἐνεῖναι. καὶ Ἀλέξ-
540 ανδρος τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῷ Πώρῳ τῶν τε αὐτοῦ Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκε καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι χώραν πρὸς τῇ πάλαι οὔσῃ πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέθηκε· καὶ οὕτως αὐτός τε βασιλικῶς κεχρημένος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἅπαντα πιστῷ
545 ἐχρήσατο. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πῶρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἡγεμόνος μηνὸς Μουνυχιῶνος.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς μάχης καὶ ἔνθεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἐπέ-
550 ρασε τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν πόλεις ἔκτιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν

ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε· τὴν δὲ Βουκέφαλα ἐς τοῦ ἵππου
τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην, ὃς ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ
βληθεὶς πρὸς οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ καμάτου τε καὶ ἡλικίας,
ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη. πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν 555
συνέκαμέ τε καὶ συνεκινδύνευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνα-
βαινόμενός τε ὑπὸ μόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὁ Βουκεφάλας
οὗτος, ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἀπηξίου ἀμβάτας, καὶ
μεγέθει μέγας ὢν καὶ τῷ θυμῷ γενναῖος. σημεῖον δὲ οἱ
ἦν βοὸς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ' ὅτου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα 560
τοῦτο λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερεν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι λευκὸν
σῆμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, μέλας ὢν αὐτός, ἐς βοὸς
κεφαλὴν μάλιστα εἰκασμένον. οὗτος ὁ ἵππος ἐν τῇ
Οὐξίων χώρᾳ ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν 565
Οὐξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον· καὶ ἀπήχθη
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι. τοσήδε μὲν σπουδὴ Ἀλεξάν-
δρῳ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν, τοσόσδε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβος
τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐς τοσόνδε τετιμήσθω ὁ
Βουκεφάλας οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα. 570

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
κεκόσμηντο τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ, τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζό-
μενα ἐπινίκια ἔθυε, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικός
τε καὶ ἱππικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ἵναπερ
τὸ πρῶτον διέβη ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ. Κράτερον μὲν δὴ 575
ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο, τὰς πόλεις ἄστινας
ταύτῃ ἔκτιζεν ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχιοῦντα· αὐτὸς
δὲ ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τῇ Πώρου ἀρχῇ
Ἰνδούς. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ ἔθνει Γλαυγανῖκαι, ὡς λέγει

580 Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, Γλαῦσαι· ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τό ὄνομα οὔ μοι μέλει. ἐπῄει δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππέων ἔχων τούς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἑκάστης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας ξύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς
585 Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας· καὶ προσεχώρουν αὐτῷ ὁμολογίᾳ πάντες. καὶ ἔλαβε πόλεις μὲν ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτά, ὧν ὅπου ὀλίγιστοι ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους· καὶ κώμας πλήθει τε πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ
590 πολυανθρώπους οὐ μεῖον τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἔδωκε· καὶ Ταξίλῃ δὲ διήλλαττε Πῶρον καὶ Ταξίλην ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω εἰς τὰ ἤθη τὰ αὐτοῦ.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν προὐχώρει.
595 τούτου τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος μόνου τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἀνέγραψεν· εἶναι γὰρ ἵνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα ὀξὺ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὀξείαις,
600 καθ' ὧν φερόμενον βίᾳ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαί τε καὶ καχλάζειν· τὸ δὲ εὖρος σταδίους ἐπέχειν πεντεκαίδεκα. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὐμαρῆ γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβαίνοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ
605 ξυναραχθέντων οὐκ ὀλίγους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθαρῆναι. εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ξυντιθέντι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται

τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποτάμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἶναι τὸ εὖρος ἵνα μέσως ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός· ἵνα δὲ στενώτατός τε καὶ διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ξυνάγεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῇ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἵναπερ τὸ πλατύτατον ἦν τοῦ πόρου, ὥστε σχολαιτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι.

Περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ, προστάξας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ὑπολελειμμένης στρατιᾶς, οἳ τόν τε σῖτον αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἤδη ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἔμελλον. Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἤθη ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἴ τινας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἐλέφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλαβόντα ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν. αὐτὸς δὲ Πῶρον τὸν ἕτερον τὸν κακόν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλθη πεφευγέναι ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχεν, ἐπενόει διώκειν σὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὁ γὰρ Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔστε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστήκει Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Πῶρον, πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπων, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἐνεδίδου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ Πώρου μᾶλλον ἢ φιλίᾳ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὡς δὲ ἀφειμένον τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλης πολλῆς ἄρχοντα ἔμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθείς, οὐχ οὕτω τι Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὁμώνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀναλαβὼν ὅσους τῶν μαχίμων ξυμπεῖσαι ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν οἱ τῆς φυγῆς.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὖ τοῦτον Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ μὲν εὖρος οὐ μείονα τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ὀξύτητι δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ μείονα. ὅσην δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν
640 Ὑδραώτην ἐπῆλθε, φυλακὰς ὑπέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις, ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερόν τε καὶ Κοῖνον δι' ἀσφαλείας ἐπέρχοιντο τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν προνομεύοντες. ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει, δοὺς αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν μὲν φάλαγγας δύο,
645 ἱππέων δὲ τήν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ἐς τὴν Πώρου τοῦ ἀφεστηκότος χώραν, κελεύσας παραδιδόναι ταύτην Πώρῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δή τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ὑδραώτου ποταμοῦ αὐτόνομα ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν νέμεται, καὶ ταῦτα
650 προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγχειρίσαι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέρα τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμὸν, οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην χαλεπῶς. προχωροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς καθ' ὁμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ξυνέβαινεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὓς ξὺν
655 ὅπλοις ἀπαντήσαντας· τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας ἑλὼν βίᾳ κατεστρέψατο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Καθαίους αὐτούς τε παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς ἐς μάχην,
660 εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅσα ὅμορα σφίσιν ὡσαύτως αὐτόνομα, ταῦτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔργον· εἶναι δὲ τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυρὰν πρὸς ᾗ ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι, ὠνομασμένην δε Σάγγαλα· καὶ

αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαῖοι εὐτολμότατοί τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια κρά-
τιστοι ἐνομίζοντο· καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι 665
ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ
καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Πῶρός
τε καὶ Ἀβισάρης ξύν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ
ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἀναστήσαντες οὐδὲν
πράξαντες τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ἀπῆλθον. 670

Ταῦθ' ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν
ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαίους. καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου πρὸς πόλιν ἧκεν ᾗ ὄνομα Πίμ-
πραμα· τὸ δ' ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραῖσταὶ ἐκα-
λοῦντο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ Ἀλεξ- 675
άνδρῳ. καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν
στρατιὰν τῇ τρίτῃ προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ἵνα οἱ
Καθαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ξυνεληλυ-
θότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλό-
φου οὐ πάντη ἀποτόμου· κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἁμάξας 680
περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον, τριπλοῦν
χάρακα περιβεβλημένοι τῶν ἁμαξῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος
δὲ τό τε πλῆθος κατιδὼν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ
χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν
καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαίνετο παρετάσσετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππο- 685
τοξότας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπέμπει ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀκρο-
βολίζεσθαι κελεύσας παριππεύοντας, ὥστε μήτε ἐκ-
δρομήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι
αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὥστε πληγὰς γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς
καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. αὐτὸς δὲ 690
ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα κατέ-

στησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἱππαρχίαν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας. κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο, τήν
695 τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων τάξεις· ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ ἑκατέρου οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διχῇ διακριθέντες ἐτάχθησαν. ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα
700 διελὼν παρήγαγεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν προσγενομένων πυκνοτέραν τὴν σύγκλεισιν τῆς φάλαγγος ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένην παρήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἁμάξας. ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐπροσοδώτερον αὐτῷ
705 ἐφαίνετο τὸ χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκναὶ ὡσαύτως αἱ ἅμαξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον προσαγαγοῦσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔξω τῶν ἁμαξῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἠκροβολίζοντο, γνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι οὐκ
710 εἴη τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἔργον καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου πεζὸς ἐπῆγε τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἁμαξῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδούς· πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παραταξάμενοι ῥᾷον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἷα δὴ πυκνότεροί τε
715 ἐφεστηκότες ἐν ἐλάττονι τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐν στενοτέρῳ προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν ᾧ τάς τε πρώτας ἁμάξας ὑπεξῆγον καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλείμματα αὐτῶν ὡς ἑκάστοις προὐχώρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὅμως ἐξεώσθησαν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ βιασθέντες ὑπὸ

τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἔμενον, ἀλλ' 720
ὡς τάχους εἶχον φυγῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατειλήθησαν.
καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιεστρατοπέ-
δευσε τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἠδυνήθη αὐτῷ
περιλαβεῖν ἡ φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχον τὸ τεῖχος
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο· κατὰ 725
δὲ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ πρόσω τοῦ
τείχους ἦν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης,
γνοὺς οὐ βαθεῖαν οὖσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἅμα εἰκάσας ὅτι
φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ἥττης
ἀπολείψουσι τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως 730
ὅπως εἴκασεν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἐκπίπ-
τοντες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνέκυρσαν ταῖς
προφυλακαῖς τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι αὐτῶν κατε-
κόπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσθόμενοι
ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὖθις 735
ἀνεχώρησαν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακί τε διπλῷ περιβάλλει ἵναπερ
μὴ εἶργεν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐν κύκλῳ
τῆς λίμνης ἀκριβεστέρας κατέστησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ μηχα-
νὰς προσάγειν τῷ τείχει ἐπενόει, ὥστε κατασείειν τὸ 740
τεῖχος. αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
τινὲς φράζουσιν ὅτι ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς
νυκτὸς ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κατὰ τὴν
λίμνην ἵναπερ τὸ ἐκλιπὲς ἦν τοῦ χάρακος. ὁ δὲ Πτο-
λεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασ- 745
πιστῶν αὐτῷ δοὺς χιλιαρχίας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας
ξύμπαντας καὶ μίαν τάξιν τῶν τοξοτῶν, ἀποδείξας τὸ

χωρίον ᾗπερ μάλιστα εἴκαζε βιάσεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὰν αἴσθῃ, ἔφη, βιαζομένους ταύτῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ εἴργειν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ σαλπιγκτὴν κέλευε σημαίνειν· ὑμεῖς δέ, ἄνδρες ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὰν σημανθῇ, ξὺν τοῖς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ξυντεταγμένοι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θόρυβον ὅποι ἂν ἡ σάλπιγξ παρακαλῇ. ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔργου.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρήγγειλε· Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἁμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φυγῇ ἁμαξῶν ταύτῃ ξυναγαγὼν ὡς πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν νυκτὶ τὰ ἄπορα φαίνηται τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὐ καταπηχθέντος συννῆσαι ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους. καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξειργάσαντο. ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καθάπερ ἐξήγγελτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πύλας δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐφέροντο. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον τὰς ταύτῃ φυλακὰς οὐδὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπ' αὐταῖς τεταγμένον· ἀλλὰ ἐν ταὐτῷ οἵ τε σαλπιγκταὶ ἐσήμαινον αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην τε καὶ συντεταγμένην ἔχων ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. τοῖς δὲ αἵ τε ἅμαξαι ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ ὁ χάραξ ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος. ὡς δὲ ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγξατο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον προσέκειντο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἁμαξῶν κατακαίνοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται οἱ Ἰνδοὶ αὖθις ἐς τὴν

πόλιν. καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἐς πεντακοσίους.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πῶρος ἀφίκετο, τούς τε ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους· αἵ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν καὶ προσήγοντο ἤδη τῷ τείχει. ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὶν καὶ κατασεισθῆναί τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύττοντές τε αὐτοὶ πλίνθινον ὂν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν κύκλῳ πάντῃ προσθέντες αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἑάλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἅρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακόσιοι. τῆς δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ· τραυματίαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ.

Θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας Εὐμένη τὸν γραμματέα ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ξυναφεστώσας τοῖς Σαγγάλοις, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τριακοσίους, φράσοντα τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔσται χαλεπὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσί τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶ γενέσθαι κακὸν τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἑκόντες σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν. οἱ δὲ (ἤδη γὰρ ἐξήγγελτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἑαλωκότα ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλα)

φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις·
805 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἡ φυγή, σπουδῇ ἐδίωκεν. ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ δίωξις ἐγίνετο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀσθενείᾳ ὑπελείποντο, οὗτοι δὲ καταληφθέντες ὑιτὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον ἐς
810 πεντακοσίους μάλιστα. ὡς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὰ Σάγγαλα τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ ἑκουσίως προσχωρήσασι προσέθηκε. καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει
815 τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας, φρουρὰς εἰσάξοντα εἰς αὐτάς· αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν ποταμὸν προὐχώρει, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα Ἰνδοὺς καταστρέψαιτο. οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἔστε ὑπελείπετό
820 τι πολέμιον.

Τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ εἰς τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἴδια κάλλιστα πολιτεύοντας· ὑπὸ
825 γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξηγεῖσθαι. πλῆθός τε ἐλεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολύ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώξυνεν
830 ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐξέκαμνον ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ

κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναιρούμενον ὁρῶντες τὸν βασιλέα· ξύλλογοί τε ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ' ἢν ἄγῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, 835 ἀπισχυριζομένων. ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον προελθεῖν τὴν ταραχὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ξύμμαχοι, 840 οὐκ ὁμοίᾳ ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ ἑπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταὐτό, ὥστε ἢ πείσας ἄγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἢ πεισθεὶς ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφεσθαι. εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμπτοί εἰσιν ὑμῖν οἱ μέχρι δεῦρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτι προὔργου λέγειν 845 μοι ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ Ἰωνία τε ὑφ' ὑμῶν διὰ τούσδε τοὺς πόνους ἔχεται καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι καὶ Καππαδόκες καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία δὲ καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αἴγυπτος ξὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ Ἀραβίας ἔστιν ἃ καὶ 850 Συρία ἥ τε κοίλη καὶ ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ Βαβυλὼν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ τὸ Σουσίων ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὅσων Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπῆρχον, καὶ ὅσων δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁ Τάναϊς, τὰ πρόσωτερον 855 ἔτι τοῦ Τανάϊδος, Βακτριανοί, Ὑρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα ἡ Ὑρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἐπὶ τούτοις μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥεῖ, ὁ Ὑδάσπης διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ

860 Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ὑδραώτης, τί ὀκνεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος γένη προσθεῖναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ Μακεδόνων ἀρχῇ; ἢ δέδιτε μὴ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς ἔτι ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ἐπιόντας; ὧν γε οἱ μὲν προσχωροῦσιν ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἁλίσκονται, οἱ δὲ
865 ἀποφυγόντες τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ἔρημον παραδιδόασιν· ἡ δὲ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἑκοῦσι προσχωρήσασι προστίθεται.

Πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναίῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐς καλὰ
870 ἔργα φέρουσιν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμεῖν ποθεῖ ἀκοῦσαι ὅ τιπερ ἔσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὐ πολλὴ ἔτι ἡμῖν ἡ λοιπή ἐστιν ὁδὸς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γάγγην καὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλασσαν· ταύτῃ δὲ ξυναφὴς φανεῖται ἡ Ὑρκανία θάλασσα· ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν
875 περὶ πᾶσαν ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρουν ὄντα τῷ Περσικῷ, τὴν δὲ Ὑρκανίαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ ἐς Λιβύην περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν· ἀπὸ
880 δὲ Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύη πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται καὶ ἡ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πᾶσα, καὶ ὅροι τῆς ταύτῃ ἀρχῆς ἔσονται οὕσπερ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὅρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιμα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θά-
885 λασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ὡς ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τούτων. ὥστε δέος μὴ ἀπελθόντων ἡμῶν ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ

νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα ἐπαρθῇ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὑπὸ τῶν μήπω ἐχομένων. καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι ἢ ἄλλων αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. πονούντων τοι καὶ κινδυνευόντων τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἐστὶ, καὶ ζῆν τε ξὺν ἀρετῇ ἡδὺ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους. ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ Ἄργει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ Θήβαις μένων ἐς τοσόνδε κλέος ἦλθεν ὥστε θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν; οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Διονύσου ὀλίγοι πόνοι. ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε καί ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἄορνος πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνάλωτος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔχεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρόσθετε τοῖς ἤδη νικηθεῖσι καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέπρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἱκανὸν ἐποιούμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκείαν διασώζειν, Θρᾷκας τοὺς ὁμόρους ἢ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἢ Τριβαλλοὺς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναστέλλοντες;

Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὑμᾶς πονοῦντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἦγον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἂν προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἆθλα αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιοῦντες· νῦν δὲ κοινοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ πόνοι, ἴσον δὲ μέτεστι τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται ξύμπασιν. ἥ τε γὰρ χώρα ὑμετέρα καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτῆς

σατραπεύετε. καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ὑμᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξέλθωμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὐκ ἐμπλήσας μὰ Δία ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐλπίζει ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι τοὺς
920 μὲν ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποπέμψω ἢ ἐπανάξω αὐτὸς· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω.

Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπὴ ἦν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμώντων πρὸς
925 τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὔτε ξυγχωρεῖν ἐθελόντων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλόμενον, εἰ δή τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γινώσκει· ἔμενε δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ σιωπή· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε θαρσήσας Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκρά-
930 τους ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξειν λέγεις, πεισθεὶς δὲ οὐ φῄς βιάσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶνδε ποιήσομαι ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ καὶ προτιμώ-
935 μενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἆθλα τῶν πόνων οἱ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοί σοι ἐς πάντα ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πολλῆς. οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ' ἡδυνὴν ἐκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἃ νομίζω ξύμφορά τε σοι ἐς τὰ παρόντα
940 καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. δίκαιος δέ εἰμι καθ' ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὖσαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίωσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τε καὶ

κινδύνοις ἐς τόδε ἀπροφάσιστον τόλμαν. ὅσῳ γάρ τοι
πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σοί τε ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται 945
καὶ τοῖς ἅμα σοὶ οἴκοθεν ὁρμηθεῖσι, τοσῷδε μᾶλλόν τι
ξύμφορόν μοι δοκεῖ πέρας τι ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πόνοις τε
καὶ κινδύνοις. αὐτὸς γάρ τοι ὁρᾷς ὅσοι μὲν Μακε-
δόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἅμα σοὶ ὡρμήθημεν, ὅσοι δὲ
ὑπολελείμμεθα· ὧν Θετταλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων 950
εὐθύς, οὐ προθύμους ἔτι ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος,
οἴκαδε, καλῶς ποιῶν, ἀπέπεμψας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλή-
νων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ οἰκισθείσαις
κατῳκισμένοι οὐδ' οὗτοι πάντες ἑκόντες μένουσιν· οἱ
δέ, ξυμπονοῦντές τε ἔτι καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύοντες, αὐτοί 955
τε καὶ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιά, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
ἀπολωλέκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπόμαχοι
γεγενημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολελειμμένοι
εἰσίν· οἱ πλείους δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολώλασιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκ
πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι 960
ὡσαύτως ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γνώμαις πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον
προκεκμηκότες. καὶ τούτοις ξύμπασι πόθος μὲν
γονέων ἐστίν, ὅσοις ἔτι σώζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν
καὶ παίδων, πόθος δὲ δὴ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, ἣν
ξὺν τῷ ἐκ σοῦ πορισθέντι σφίσι κόσμῳ, μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ 965
μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήτων ἀναστρέφοντες, ξύγ-
γνωστοί εἰσιν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. σὺ δὲ νῦν μὴ ἄγειν
ἄκοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίοις ἔτι χρήσῃ ἐς τοὺς κινδύ-
νους, οἷς τὸ ἑκούσιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀπέσται· ἐπανελ-
θὼν δ' αὐτός τε, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν 970
μητέρα τὴν σαυτοῦ ἰδὼν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατα-

στησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας ταύτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον κομίσας οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλον στόλον στέλλου, εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἕω ᾠκισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον· εἰ δέ, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Λιβύης. ταῦτα δὲ σὸν ἤδη ἐξηγεῖσθαι. ἕψονται δέ σοι ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες, νέοι τε ἀντὶ γερόντων καὶ ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων, καὶ οἷς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἔς τε τὸ παραυτίκα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσται· οὓς καὶ ταύτῃ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἀκολουθήσειν σοι εἰκός, ὁρῶντας τοὺς πρότερον ξυμπονήσαντάς τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσαντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπανεληλυθότας, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀντὶ ἀφανῶν εὐκλεεῖς. καλὸν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιὰν τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κοίνου θόρυβόν φασι γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις· πολλοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προχυθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον δηλῶσαι τό τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἐς τοὺς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡδονὴν σφίσιν εἶναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε Κοίνου τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὄκνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ξυγκαλέσας αὖθις ξὺν

ὀργῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰέναι ἔφη τοῦ πρόσω, βιά- 1000
σεσθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεσθαι· ἕξειν
γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἑκόντας·
τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι
καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν
μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπανήκουσιν ἀπολιπόντες. ταῦτ' 1005
εἰπόντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν σκηνήν, μηδέ τινα τῶν
ἑταίρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐς
τὴν τρίτην ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα εἰ δή τις τροπὴ
ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχων, οἷα δὴ
ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἐμ- 1010
πεσοῦσα εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ σιγὴ
αὖ πολλὴ ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ
ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δῆλοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλόμενοί γε ὑπ'
αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ
διαβάσει οὐδὲν μεῖον ἐθύετο, θυομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο 1015
αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. τότε δὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἑταί-
ρων καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῷ ξυναγαγών, ὡς
πάντα ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει
ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ὅτι ἔγνωσται ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν.

Οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγὴς χαίρων βοή- 1020
σειε καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ
σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες εὔχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, ὅτι ὑπὸ σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι
ἠνέσχετο. ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιὰν
δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν 1025
κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὖρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι
ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε

ἀγαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων. ὡς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ἀνέστρεφε. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἐπανῄει ὀπίσω. καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξῳκοδομημένην ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσαι ἐτάχθη· καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ κατῳκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅ τιπερ ἀπόμαχον ἦν αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρῃ χώρας ὕπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς τριάκοντα· Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσῳ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν. συνῆλθον δε καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρῃ τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατείᾳ προσέθηκε· καὶ φόρους οὕστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἧκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὄμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

NOTES.

ARRIAN, BOOK V.

2. *τοῦ Κωφῆνος*, the Cabul river. From it the country around was called Kophene. Cabul itself was the ancient Ortospana, or, as General Cunningham would read the name, Orthostana; as this latter word means 'high place,' or 'high fort,' and the name of the 'Balahissar,' the well-known citadel of Cabul, is a Persian rendering of the same.

4. *Νῦσαν*. If there really was a town so named between Cabul and the Indus it must have been Jelalabad; as Peshawr, the only remaining one, was known by the name of Purushapura. These Indians may have meant, in referring to Dionysus, that they worshipped the god Homa, the personification of the intoxicating soma-juice. He was imagined, like Dionysus, as a young man of bright aspect.

5. *ὅστις δὴ ἦν*, 'whoever this Dionysus really was, and whenever and from whatever quarter he invaded India.'

13. *κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς συντιθέντι*, 'when you put them together according to probability.' *τὸ θεῖον*, 'divine agency.'

27. *γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά*, 'the sacrifices were favourable.'

31. *καὶ τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ*, 'this also being an Indian river.'

32. *ἐπὶ τάδε*, 'on this side,' opposed to *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα*.

38. *Πάταλα* is said by Cunningham to mean the trumpet-flower. (*Bignonia suaveolens.*) If so, the shape of a delta would naturally be suggested by the name. There was also a town in the Indus-delta called Patala or Nirankot—the modern Haiderabad.

40. *Ὑδάσπης*, &c. For the meaning of these names, see the Introd., p. ii.

45. *εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας.* Ctesias was physician to Artaxerxes, the brother of Cyrus the younger, and cured, as Xenophon tells us, the wound which Cyrus inflicted on him at the battle of Cunaxa. He had admirable opportunities of knowing all about Persia, and used them to discredit Herodotus. According to Professor Rawlinson (Herod. i. p. 61), all subsequent research has established his ignorance and presumption, and vindicated the truthfulness of Herodotus. About India his details were peculiarly inaccurate.

46. *στενώτατος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ,* 'at its narrowest,' literally 'narrowest itself as compared with itself.' Cp. line 609.

47. *τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους.* When the middle Indus is in flood its breadth is frequently fifteen miles. So it was when Lieutenant Edwardes ferried his improvised army over to Leia for the relief of Moultan. Further north, a large part of the Sind Saugor doab is overflowed by it during the rains; but, at other seasons, the breadth of the Indus below Attok, where it is most rapid, is from 100 to 400 yards; below Mittunkote, where it receives the five rivers, 1,700 yards. At special points some of the rivers are wider than this: thus, the Sutlej, at Ferozepore, is two miles wide.

52. *ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ,* the *Ἰνδικά*; a supplement to the Anabasis, which still exists.

ὅσα πιστότατα. Arrian was born about A.D. 100. He was Prefect of Cappadocia under the Emperor Hadrian, and fitted himself to be a military historian by defeating the Alani and Massagetæ, who invaded his government in 137. In writing his history (to which he was induced by admiration of Xenophon), he followed the best authorities of Alexander's own time, and those immediately subsequent, namely, Nearchus, Alexander's skilful naval commander; Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, afterwards king of Egypt; Megasthenes, who went on an embassy, shortly after Alexander's death, to Chandragupta, the king of Patna; and Eratosthenes, the great geographer of Alexandria, so

celebrated for his measurement of the earth's circumference by means of the shadows cast by the sun on a given day at two remote places.

66. *Παραπαμίσῳ.* Arrian seems to consider the Taurus range as including the mountains of Parthia, and afterwards continued by the Paropamisus, or Hindoo Khosh, which joins it with the Imaus, or Himalaya. A still more general view of geography traces one great watershed from the Bay of Biscay through the Pyrenees, Alps, and Balkan into Asia Minor; thence through Armenia to the Hindoo Khosh; thence by the Kuanlun, Thianshan, and Altai to the extreme east and north-east of Asia; rising again on the other side of Bhering's Straits in the great American chain, which runs nearly at right angles to those of the Old World.

68. *τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὔξοντες,* 'in order to exaggerate Alexander's exploits.'

69. *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου,* 'beyond the Caucasus, as they said.'

73. *ἐπὶ τῷδε,* 'for this reason.'

80. *τὴν Μαιῶτιν.* That the Oxus in ancient times carried a great part of its waters into the Caspian is plain from recent investigations; and as the Greeks generally considered the Aral Sea to be part of the Caspian, they would also view the Jaxartes as flowing into the latter. But what rivers from the north of the watershed flowed into the Sea of Azof? It would seem that Arrian followed the ideas of Alexander's time (Grote, viii., 420), according to which the Jaxartes bifurcated,—part of it forming the Tanais or Don, and falling into the Sea of Azof, the remainder going into the Caspian under its own name. This seems to imply the further idea that Europe narrowed towards the north, just as Africa did towards the south.

82. *κόλπον τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης.* Herodotus (i., 202) is aware that the Caspian is an inland sea; other writers supposed it to be connected either with the Sea of Azof or with the Northern Ocean. See below, line 877.

88. ὁ Εὐφράτης ἀφανίζεται, in the marshes of Lamlum, above its junction with the Tigris, where its current runs less than a mile an hour.

93. εἰς Τάξιλα, see Introd., p. iv. Its ruins extend three miles from north to south, and two from east to west. It is known to have existed as a city up to A.D. 630, when it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang (see M. Müller, 'Chips, vol. i., p. 235), and probably up to Mahmood's time (A.D. 1000); therefore it probably was ruined in some of the wars described in the Introd., p. iii.

99. τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν. Elphinstone (i., p. 47) notes that in the Laws of Menu the king is admonished to recruit his forces from the upper or mountainous parts of India, since there the best men are to be found.

107. Ὑδάσπην, see Introd., p. ii. The Jelum rises high up in Cashmere, and passes by Rotas, Jelum, Dilapur, Jelalpoor, and by Multan, after receiving the Chenab and Ravi.

108. Πῶρος, the Greek spelling of Purusha ('the hero'). He was apparently king of the Bari doab; with Lahore for his capital.

117. ἐτμήθησαν. So, in our own time, small steam-vessels have been built in England, taken to St. Petersburg by sea, thence carried across in sections to the Volga, and there put together again for the carrying trade of that river. As a military operation, this transport of vessels by land has been not unfrequently attempted. So the Knights of Malta, when besieged by Solyman, carried their ships across from one of the Valetta harbours to the other.

133. ὥστε τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίγνεσθαι, 'so that Porus might be puzzled.' Great commendations have been bestowed on the conduct of Porus, as well as of his adversary; still it must be remembered, that a great general would have cut short these illusory proceedings of Alexander, by himself crossing the river and attacking the Macedonian camp at some moment when the main strength was withdrawn from it.

137. ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις, 'he placed various (τοὺς) commanders at various times over different divisions of his army, and dispatched them also in different directions.'

150. ἦ κατὰ τροπὰς. So Nearchus (quoted by Strabo, xv., 1) places the great rise in the rivers at the summer solstice, while they were encamped on the Acesines.

160. ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἔφασκε, 'he gave out publicly.'

178. ἐς ἔθος . . . . καθίστη, 'accustomed him gradually to lead out his men thus in opposition.'

184. τὸ τοῦ Πώρου, 'when he had brought (the mind of) Porus to entertain no fear.'

186. ἄκρα ἦν. This was, according to General Cunningham, opposite the present village of Kotera, one mile below Dilawar. The islands there, and elsewhere on the Jelum, were shifting sandbanks; but, in the rainy season, they would be overgrown with tamarisks, so as to be rightly described as 'woody.'

192. οἷα κρύψαι, 'such as to conceal.' οἷά τε κρύψαι would mean 'able to conceal.'

194. ἀπεῖχε ἡ ἄκρα. Alexander had made a flank movement from the front, where the western road strikes the Jelum, which had nearly brought him on the eastern road. Introd. p. iv.

196. φυλακαί, 'running sentries,' at the right distance for complete communication with one another. It should be remarked that the sentries were carefully concealed—the banks of the river being here sufficiently broken for this purpose; hence, the cries mentioned must have been raised and the fires lighted elsewhere, for the purpose of distracting attention.

208. τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. See above, line 121.

214. μένειν κατὰ χώραν, 'please to remain where you are,'—the infin. of command. So, in oracles, we have 'φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.'

219. εὔπορος. This seems to indicate that Alexander, with Porus's camp full in view, had observed his defective style of manœuvring. Πρὶν . . . . πρὶν. This repetition of πρὶν

produces the same effect as the use of 'ante .... quam in Latin. So in line 249 we have *πρόσθεν .... πρίν.*

225. *διαβαίνειν κατὰ μέρος.* The accuracy with which these directions were carried out may be contrasted with the celebrated 'fault of Sadoolapore,' when similar arrangements were made for crossing the Chenab, in face of the Seikh force, after the battle of Ramnuggur. Here one division, under Sir J. Thackwell, was ordered to cross the river (at a ford which proved impracticable), but not to attack the Seikhs until he found himself supported by Brigadier Godby, who would have crossed in time at an intervening ford. How all these combinations failed may be read in Arnold's 'Memoir of Lord Dalhousie' (i., 141).

227. *τὸ ἄγημα,* 'the corps of bodyguards.'

233. *ἀφανῶς.* A road difficult, but practicable, leads from Jelalpur towards Jelum, by the bed of the Kandar nullah, and thence by the Kasi ravine to Dilawar, a total distance of seventeen miles. By this Alexander is supposed to have moved, of course out of sight of the enemy. *Τοῦ μὴ .... εἶναι.* As the genitive often signifies the aim for motion or effort (*τοξεύειν σκοποῦ,* and the like), this genitive sentence may, without any such preposition as *ἕνεκα,* naturally express Alexander's aim in directing his march by the Kasi ravine.

234. *ἐκ πολλοῦ,* 'long before,' lit. 'from a long time.'

243. *ἀντιπαταγούντων,* causative; 'since the thunder and rain drowned the sounds,' &c.

248. *τῶν διφθερῶν,* 'getting on the skin-pontoon rafts.' We see vividly represented in the Assyrian sculptures the uses which might be made of these skins in crossing rivers.

252. *ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου.* If position is treated as a mode of action, the genitive rather than the dative is used with *ἐπὶ.* Thus a man rides *ἐφ' ἵππου*; a sack is placed *ἐφ' ἵππῳ.* So we should say *ὠρχήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης,* 'he danced on the table,' rather than *ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ.*

254. *ὁ βασιλεύσας,* who was afterwards king of Syria, and founder of the race of the Seleucidæ.

259. *ὡς τάχους εἶχον*, lit. 'as each man's horse was with regard to speed'—that is, 'at the utmost speed of each man's horse.'

262. *τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐκβαίνοντας*, 'he drew up the cavalry as they disembarked.'

264. *οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον* = *ἐς οὐ βέβαιον.*

266. *αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην*, 'which was itself a large one.'

274. *ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστούς.* 'A ford,' says Hyde ('Fortif.,' p. 180), 'must not be reported practicable for artillery if it is more than 2 feet 4 inches deep; for infantry, if more than 3 feet; and for cavalry, if more than 4 feet.' Hence we see the difficulty of the passage here made.

275. *ὅσον ὑπερίσχειν*, 'of such a depth that *only* the horses' heads were above water.'

281. *ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ*, 'placed next in line to the cavalry' (the horse archers being in advance of the line). The feminine is collective.

283. *ὡς . . . . αἱ ἡγεμονίαι*, 'as each happened at the time to be commanded.'

292. *ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ*, 'to bring up immediately behind the cavalry.'

295. *ἀπομαχεῖσθαι*, 'or that he would stand on the defensive.'

298. *οὐ πόρρωθεν ἕξεσθαι*, 'he would be able to hang close upon them in the rout,' as they would not have any great start.

306. *καὶ μηδένος εἴργοντος*, 'even when no one opposed him.'

309. *ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι*, 'but he says that the young man held off with his chariots, and allowed Alexander to make the passage in perfect safety.'

319. *καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα*, 'he also having been wounded.'

327. *ὡς ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν*, 'considered as a reconnoitring party, would have been too numerous, and not rapid in retreat.' The positive stands for a comparative, as in *θερμὸν ἦν τὸ ὕδωρ ὥστε λούεσθαι* ('too warm for bathing').

329. *ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ εἴρξαι*, 'but considered as meant to check those of the enemy who had not yet crossed the river.'

336. καὶ οὗτος, 'Ptolemæus also.'

338. προτεταγμένην . . . πορεύεσθαι, 'and (he thought) that this was some advanced cavalry thrown forward by Porus.'

343. οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, 'not with a line regularly formed, but charging by squadrons.'

347. βαρέα γιγνόμενα, from falling, that is, on the clayey ground presently mentioned. General Cunningham notices, from personal observation, the red and slippery clay on this part of the field of Chillianwallah, which is near the modern town of Mong.

353. ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρύ, 'from the position immediately opposite him'—that is, from the large camp.

374. ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα, 'he thought that none of the enemy would dare to push in at the intervals between the elephants.' Porus hoped, in other words, that the elephants would serve the purpose of bastions or redoubts, making it impossible to attack, either where they were stationed or at the intervals.

376. κατὰ στόμα . . ἂν εἴργεσθαι, 'for that in front they would be checked by the infantry.'

379. οὐκ ἴσον . . . ἐπέχοντες, 'not closing up into one line with the elephants, but forming a second line behind them.'

381. ὥστε ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλῆσθαι, 'so that the regiments were only partly pushed forward into the intervals.' That is, the front ranks of the regiments occupied the rear of the intervals between the elephants.

388. ὥστε ἀναλαμβάνειν, 'so as to get in hand each infantry regiment as it came up.'

389. ὁ δὲ, 'Alexander *still* did not at once send it forward.' As δὲ always implies the presence of a second thing, this second may be, as this case, contrasted with the first; so that the conjunction has an adversative force.

397. ἅτε ἱπποκρατῶν, 'as being superior in the number of his cavalry.'

398. τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου, a not unusual attraction of gender for τὸ πολύ, when a feminine genitive follows.

400. Κοῖνον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν . . . . Cœnus was ordered to station himself opposite the enemy's right; then, in case of Porus withdrawing all his cavalry from the right, in order to meet Alexander's attack on the left, Cœnus was to pass from one wing to the other, apparently in front of the Macedonian line, and to attack the Indian cavalry in the rear as soon as, in advancing to meet Alexander, they had got some little distance from their supports. ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν. It is strange that some editors should translate this 'to his own right,' on the ground that, if Cœnus had been sent to the other wing, he would have been too far off to execute the movement ordered. The words so plainly correspond with ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνώνυμον just above, that the right wing of Porus must be meant. Distance can be got over quickly by cavalry.

415. κατὰ κέρας. This seems to mean 'while *they* were still in column, and before they could deploy.'

420. ἀμφίστομον 'were obliged to face front and rear;' a dangerous arrangement, inasmuch as men never fight steadily when their safety depends on the steadiness of other men behind them.

426. ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, 'just while they were forming to the front and rear.'

429. οἱ ἐπιστάται, 'the mahouts.' They attempted, apparently, to bring up the elephants on the rear of Cœnus' horse, which they could not do without stripping their infantry of the defence on which they relied so much.

438. τοῖς πεζοῖς. This and the following passages are explained in the account of the battle given at the end of the Introduction.

441. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. This must have been the result of a sort of blind instinct, as the line of elephants had for some time been too much broken to afford any support.

444. ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, 'but having run together by the mere effect of the struggle.'

446. ἐς στενὸν. The elephants were pressed into small space by

the infantry engagement going on around them, and still more so by the cavalry falling back on them as supports. See the Introduction.

454. οὐκέτι διακεκριμένοι, 'no longer kept to their own side.'

464. συριγμῷ διαχρώμενα, 'they continued trumpeting, and fell back like ships backing water.'

465. ἐπὶ πόδα, 'backwards, with their faces towards the enemy,' as the comparison with ships also shows.

472. ὅπου διέσχεν, 'where there were gaps in the cordon of cavalry.'

479. ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων, 'instead of being tired, as those with Alexander were.'

487. The gap is supposed to have contained the number of officers slain, as the sentence cannot be supposed to mean that all of each kind mentioned fell.

495. οὐχ ὅτι, an abridgment of οὔ φημι ὅτι, 'I do not say (only) that he did the part of a general,' that is 'not only the part,' &c.

499. οὐχ ᾗπερ, 'not in the way in which.'

506. ὡς καταμαθεῖν . . . . ἦν, 'as it was possible afterwards to observe.'

519. ἐν μέρει, 'in turn'—'one after the other.'

529. ἐθαύμαζε. Mr. Grote has directed attention to the way in which Alexander was swayed by appearances. He recognized nobly the valour of Porus, the splendid giant; but had no generous feeling for the eunuch Batis, who defended Gaza against him with even more valour and tenacity.

547. Μουνυχιῶνος. This gives the date of the battle, that is, April or May, B.C. 326. If so, line 150 is an error.

551. Νίκαιαν, this is the city of Mong, where Greek coins with the inscription NIK are still found.

553. Βουκέφαλα is either Dilawar or Jelalpur. The district of 'Bagial,' in which Dilawar stands, may, General Cunningham thinks, be a corruption of 'Boukephalia.' But he rather inclines to Jelalpur, which, as he remarks, must, from

the appearance of the ruins there, have borne the same kind of resemblance to Mong which two cities founded at the same time would naturally bear.

577. *ἀναστήσοντα*, 'to build:' a word, as Sintenis remarks, generally applied only to the restoration of cities.

599. *ῥεῦμα ὀξύ*. See Introd., p. ii.

606. *συντιθέντι*, 'by comparison.'

612. *καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῇ εἶναι*, 'and I consider that this is the size of the Indus at many places.'

654. *ἔστιν οὓς*, 'some.' The verb in this phrase remains in the singular.

659. *Καθαίους*. The position of this nation is settled by that of their capital, Sangala. This has been supposed to be the modern Lahore. It has, however, been more probably identified with a ruined town, still called Sangla-tiba (the hill or *Θήβη* of Sangla), on the south bank of the Acesines. Sangala was already in ruins, A.D. 630, and Lahore has been the capital only for the last 900 years. *Πίμπραμα* is placed by Cunningham between Sangala and Lahore.

691. *τὸ ἄγημα* (understood *τῶν ἑταίρων*).

701. *τὴν σύγκλεισιν*, 'closing up the ranks of the phalanx more densely.'

710. *οὐχ ἱππέων τὸ ἔργον*. Yet twelve English troopers were the first to find their way into the Seikh entrenchments at Sobraon—at the price of their lives.

714. *πυκνότεροι*. Lines or walls are now not held to be sufficiently manned unless there are two men for every yard.

716. *ἐν στενοτέρῳ*. 'Le feu du centre au circonférence est nul,' was an expression of Napoleon's. In this case, therefore, the defenders' fire became more effective as the Macedonian circle of assault contracted; besides which, their stopping to pull away the waggons of the outer circle would give the range with great exactness.

737. *χάρακι*. How much suffering is contained in this word, which occurs so lightly in the narrative. By the mere act of planting trees in an Indian district, many more days of

annual rain may be gained for it (as General Jacob proved at Jacobabad). Desolation for many years might, therefore, be the consequence of cutting down trees for the purpose of making stockades.

767. ἐπ' αὐταῖς, 'in support of these pickets.'

790. οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, 'in more than the usual proportion to the number of the slain.'

799. ὑπομένουσι. Conditional: 'if they stayed at home.'

808. ἀσθενείᾳ. To war against the weak was as reconcilable with the military principles of Alexander as it afterwards was with those of Cæsar. See Bell. Gall. 4. 14, where Cæsar calmly states that he sent out his cavalry to cut down the women and children of the Tenchteri.

810. τοῦ πρόσω. See above, the note to line 233; also line 842.

824. κάλλιστα πολιτεύοντας. These oligarchic governments often inspire great admiration in the Roman writers. Thus, Strabo describes Massilia as a town in which διοικοῦνται ἀριστοκρατικῶς καὶ πάντων εὐνομώτατα. Yet seldom, indeed, in ancient times, did such governments deserve this praise.

826. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν . . . ἐξηγεῖσθαι, 'while they in their turn order nothing beyond the bounds of moderation.'

828. μεγέθει μεγίστους. So Q. Curtius remarks the much greater size and strength of Indian, as compared with African, elephants.

834. τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων. Arrian seems to have had in view Cæsar, Bell. Gall., i., 39, 'Abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur.'

845. οὐδὲν προύργου, 'to no purpose;' lit. 'nothing forward towards the work.' See the note to line 810.

851. ἡ κοίλη, Cœle Syria, the country between the ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus. ἡ . . . . τῶν ποταμῶν, Mesopotamia.

862. μὴ δέξωνται, 'lest other barbarians should stand against you.'

866. ἡ δὲ προστίθεται, 'and so this deserted country gets numbered among those allied to us.'

869. ἐς καλὰ ἔργα φέρουσι, 'to noble spirits there is no end to labours except the labours themselves, if only they lead to noble deeds.' How far this limit had been passed in Alexander's case we see by the gradually increasing brutality of his war against these nations, who had done, and were doing him no wrong. ὅσοι αὐτῶν . . . . So Lucan says of Cæsar,

"Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum."

873. ξυναφὴς. See above, 82, note. Alexander held the opinion that the Caspian is an inlet of the Northern Ocean.

877. τὴν δὲ Ὑρκανίαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ. 'I will show that the Caspian joins the Indian Ocean' (not, of course, directly, but through the connection mentioned in the last note). ξυρροῦν. See above the note to line 82.

880. ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύη, Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the borders of Egypt.

882. νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων, 'but if we turn back now.'

886. τὰ Σκυθικά. If Alexander really used the arguments here given, they were enough alone to frustrate his purpose. For not only was the prospect of war boundless, but he evidently contemplated attacking the Scythians, an enterprise proverbially fatal to great conquerors.

895. ὁ πρόγονος, Hercules. Although the Macedonians, as not being Greeks, could not contend at the Olympic games, the kings of Macedonia, as being descended from the Temenidæ of Argos, and of Heraclid blood, could always claim the privilege.

902. πρόσθετε. There is a kind of humour in the use of this imperative aorist, which generally applies to single acts. He treats the conquest of the rest of Asia as a thing which may be done in a moment.

904. τί ἂν κατεπέπρακτο, not κατεπράχθη; for the meaning is, 'what exploits could we have claimed?' so ἀπολώλη ἂν πάλαι means 'I should have been dead (not 'I should have died') long ago.'

912. μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, 'since you alone would, in that case, be sharing in the dangers.'

914. ἐν μέσῳ, 'lie before you to be earned.'

940. δίκαιός εἰμι, 'I am bound.'

944. ὅσῳ πλεῖστα. Superlative proportions are generally best translated by the comparative, as here.

945. σοὶ ἡγουμένῳ, 'by you in your command.'

966. ξύγγνωστοί εἰσι, 'they may be pardoned if they desire to see them.'

976. Καρχηδόνα. The Greek word Καρχηδών, like the Latin 'Carthago,' is derived from the native name, 'Kiriath Chadashah' (the new town). Each language takes some of the consonants and rejects others, but not the same.

981. διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον. The courage of conscripts is proverbial.

990. τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου. Arrian seems to be thinking of the narrow escape from death which Alexander had shortly afterwards among the Malli.

1003. ὑπάρχειν, 'full leave and opportunity should be given.'

1026. μείζονας ἢ κατὰ πύργους, 'larger than the size of towers.'

1038. ἐπὶ τῷ καταπλῷ. His idea of returning was much like the remarkable permission given by Lord Ellenborough to the army in South Afghanistan, to retreat immediately, but by way of Cabul. Alexander's notion was to move southward through the burning plains of Scinde (where the thermometer in summer marks 130° in the shade), as far as the sea; then to march westward along the coast, a line of whose horrors he had not the least idea, and so back to Babylon. His having devised this notable plan seems to have had much to do with his restored good humour. How he executed it will be seen in a subsequent section of this work.

It is interesting to remark the way in which Sir R. Peel refers to the circumstances narrated in this book of Arrian, when moving, in 1843, a vote of thanks to the army engaged in the last Afghan campaign. "If we wanted anything," says this great orator, "to add to the interest of these scenes, it would be found in their association with the ancient history of the world. I am

struck by the recollection that it was in the selfsame region, and in the midst of similar scenes, that one of the greatest of ancient conquerors, 2,300 years ago, was displaying his power, and encountering the same difficulties that, for a time, depressed the spirit and damped the courage of our sepoys. And I was struck by the account given by the Roman historian of the dejection which prevailed even in the ranks of the Macedonian phalanx, when they had to encounter and overcome the difficulties of the same terrible region—to cross the very same rivers, to force the very same passes. . . . . Alexander found it necessary not to punish, but to address them. He did it in these words :—

" 'Date hoc precibus nostris et tandem obstinatum rumpite.'

" He observed that the passage of these rivers of the Punjaub, and the accounts of the formidable character of the enemy, had shaken the confidence of his troops. Wherefore he says :—

" 'Ubi est ille clamor alacritatis vestræ index ! Ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non agnosco vos, milites.'

" He addressed them in vain. The historian says :—

" 'Quumque illi demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent.'

" He then said to them :—

" 'Ite reduces domum ; ite deserto rege ovantes. Ego hic a vobis desperatæ victoriæ, aut honestæ morti locum inveniam.'

" These were the very words which Alexander addressed to his fainting troops. Amidst those very rivers of the Punjaub—amidst those very Afghan passes—Alexander pursued a course similar to that which has now been adopted by our own commander. He attempted, not by severity—not by enforcing the rigid rules of war—but by reasoning with his men, to revive their drooping spirits ; and he succeeded. If the Macedonian phalanx needed such an address from the mighty conqueror who

led them, let us not judge too harshly of our sepoys, if, in the midst of similar difficulties, they yielded for a moment to depression."

Such is the way in which the records of history answered the call of Sir Robert Peel, as they had sprung to the lips of Burke in earlier days, for the purpose of enforcing lessons of justice, humanity, and consideration.

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